Lr Leitner L-3 (1868-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3

2.—The Fairy who Punished her Human Lover.

It is not believed in Astor that fairies ever marry human beings, but in Gilgit there is a legend to that effect. A famous sportsman, Kibá Lorí, who never returned empty-handed from any excursion, kept company with a fairy to whom he was deeply attached. Once in the hot weather the fairy said to him not to go out shooting during "the seven days of the summer," "Caniculars," which are called "Bardá," and are supposed to be the hottest days in Dardistan. "I am," said she, "obliged to leave you for that period, and, mind, you do not follow me.' The sportsman promised obedience and the fairy vanished, saying that he would certainly die if he attempted to follow her. Our love-intoxicated Nimrod, however, could not endure her absence. On the fourth day he shouldered his gun and went out with the hope of meeting her. Crossing a range, he came upon a plain, where he saw an immense gathering of game of all sorts and his beloved fairy milking a "Kill" (markhor) and gathering the milk into a silver vessel. The noise which Kibá Lorí made caused the animal to start and to strike out with his legs, which upset the silver vessel. The fairy looked up, and to her anger beheld the disobedient lover. She went up to him and, after reproaching him, struck him in the face. But she had scarcely done so when despair mastered her heart, and she cried out in the deepest anguish that "he now must die within four days." "However," she said, "do shoot one of these animals, so that people may not say that you have returned empty-handed." The poor man returned crestfallen to his home, lay down, and died on the fourth day.

C.—Dayall = Wizards and Witches.

The gift of second sight, or rather the intercourse with fairies, is confined to a few families in which it is hereditary. The wizard is made to inhale the fumes of a fire which is lit with the wood of the *tshili*[3] (Panjabi = Padam), a kind

[3] Elsewhere called *tshi*.

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3

791 of fir-wood which gives much smoke. Into the fire the
787 milk of a white sheep or goat is poured. The wizard inhales the smoke till he apparently becomes insensible. He is then taken on the lap of one of the spectators, who sings a song which restores him to his senses. In the meanwhile, a goat is slaughtered, and the moment the fortune-teller jumps up, its bleeding neck is presented to him, which he sucks as long as a drop remains. The assembled musicians then strike up a great noise, and the wizard rushes about in the circle which is formed round him and talks unintelligibly. The fairy then appears at some distance and sings, which, however, only the wizard hears. He then communicates her sayings in a song to one of the musicians, who explains its meaning to the people. The wizard is called upon to foretell events and to give advice in cases of illness, etc. The people believe that in ancient times these Dayalls invariably spoke correctly, but that now scarcely one saying in a hundred turns out to be true. Wizards do not now make a livelihood by their talent, which is considered its own reward.

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173 There are few legends[1] so exquisite as the one which chronicles the origin, or rather the rise, of Gilgit. The traditions regarding Alexander the Great, which Vigne and others have imagined to exist among the people of Dardistan, are unknown to, at any rate, the Shiná race, excepting in so far as any Munshi accompanying the Maharajah's troops may, perhaps, accidentally have referred to them in conversation with a Shîn. Any such information would have been derived from the Sikandarnama of Nizámi, and would, therefore, possess no original value. There exist no ruins, as far as I have gone, to point to an occupation of Dardistan by the soldiers of Alexander. The following legend, however, which not only lives in the memories of all the Shîn people, whether they be Chilasis, Astoris, Gilgitis, or Brokhpá (the latter, as I discovered, living actually side by side with the Baltis in Little Tibet), but which also an annual festival commemorates, is not devoid of interest from either a historical or a purely literary point of view.

[1] [For text see category 539, pp. 9-14.--Analyst]

2: Lorimer 1-3 (1920-24) 1929 AV3 Dard AV3

776 Yaçḥ and Yaçḥōlo still receive attention in some localities as beings capable of affecting, at least prejudicially, the prosperity of the crops.

•791 754 Turning now to purely human beings gifted with supernatural powers we find two principal representatives of the class: the Rū.i, a woman displaying some of the powers and proclivities of the western witch, and the Daīyāl, a person of either sex endowed with some of the abilities of the Seer and the Prophet.

There are also the possessors of the Evil Eye, voluntary or involuntary, and there are persons who have acquired powers of magic (ċḥíla).

000 These are the principal Dramatis Personæ of the Living Supernatural, and we may now examine their peculiarities in somewhat greater detail, paying particular attention to the Bōyo, the Ċḥèçḥ and the Rū.i, partly because of their peculiarly local character, as signalized by their purely local names, and partly because of their intrinsic importance.

The Bōyo

776 From what I have heard I very much fear that the Bōyo are as extinct as the Dodo, though their extinction is of quite recent date. Perhaps they still enjoy a tenuous existence in the phantasies of some elderly minds, but their day of power and awe is gone, their cult is dead, and their worshippers departed.

776 782 From the little information I possess it appears that the Bōyo lived in holes at the foot of trees and rocks; and that the cult consisted in placing offerings of food, at any rate of slaughtered animals, at the foot of the trees, i.e. presumably in front of the holes. The Bōyo themselves are described as puppies, or animals like puppies, so this simple form of worship was probably acceptable to them. At any rate they condescended to eat the offerings.

There were Bōyo in residence at a spot on the Dadimo Lat a little above the fort at Hīndi, and the cult was maintained

2: Lorimer L-3 (1920-24) 1929 AV3 Dard AV3

754 and pleasure it is to come between the Rū.i and her prey. These are gifted with superhuman faculties of perception and with powers of locomotion not inferior to the Rū.i's.

●791 754 The PASHŪ—the word belongs to the root *pash-*, "to see"—is a "seer", a man or woman who sees what ordinary people cannot see. The Pashū can see not only Rū.is in action but also Dē.ūs and Peris.

By one means or another the Pashū gets to know that someone has been carried off. We have it generally stated that people's guardian spirits—Rāçhi—inform the Pashū when their protégés are threatened; but in one case a Pashū told me that the Rū.is themselves informed him, when he was asleep, that they were carrying off a victim and invited him to come along: a sporting action on their part, for the Pashū's function is to baulk them of their prey.

The moment the Pashū learns of an abduction he starts off in pursuit. He also flies through the air no less swiftly than the Rū.is, a feat which is all the more remarkable in that he flies in his proper person and not only in an immaterial semblance. When he is absent on a mission of rescue his place at home is empty.

Having come up with the Rū.is at their meeting-place the Pashū demands the surrender of the victim, but if the latter is already dead his labour has been in vain. If the victim is still alive he enters into negotiations with the Rū.is and as a rule succeeds in striking a bargain with them. For a ransom, in the shape it may be of a goat or an ox to be delivered within a certain period, they relinquish their prey.

All then return apparently to their various homes.

The Rū.is are not above making attempts to deceive the Pashū by concealing their victim in the skin of a goat, cow, or other animal.

A practising Pashū, who told me that he was peculiarly successful in rescue work, claimed that in two years he had had 200 successes against 100 failures. He had gone as far afield

2: Lorimer L-3 (1920-24) 1929 AV3 Dard AV3

as India. In his flights he was unconscious of mountains or other obstacles, but it is probable that like the Rū.is he must not touch water or a graveyard.

The other Anti-Rū.i is the MITŪ. I am unable to give any explanation of the name. Mitūs appear to be always men. The Mitū is a more ambiguous person than the Pashū. He is professedly an antagonist of the Rū.is, but he seems to slip very easily into the rôle of aider and abettor. Ostensibly his functions and practice are similar to the Pashū's, but he appears to have less authority and less firm moral purpose. When he fails, he yields to pressure or persuasion by the Rū.is and allows himself to be used as a sort of human anvil on which the victim is dismembered, or else he himself chops him up. He still, however, retains some of his original better feelings, for he refuses to accept a share of the victim's flesh.

Some doubt is cast on the Mitū's original good faith by a statement made to me by a Pashū: that the Mitū accompanies the Rū.is carrying an axe with him; but perhaps this imputation is due to professional jealousy.

I must confess to some doubt as to the use of the Mitū as a chopping-block. It is a curious idea and I have no actual vernacular text to support it, only notes made in English of what I understood at the time was told me.

The Mitū is unconscious when travelling on his errand of mercy, but if his foot touches water he returns to consciousness, is unable to proceed further, and returns home.

Mitūs are found in Nagir and Bagrōt, but there are non in Gilgit proper.

It may perhaps be useful to offer a few more facts about Rū.is. Rū.is are numerous and ubiquitous in the Gilgit area. They are found in Puniāl, Hunza, Nagir, and other districts, as well as in Gilgit proper.

My Pashū friend told me that in Gilgit there were some 300 of them, but this I can only take to be a gross exaggeration. I fancy he was something of a misogynist, for he also

2: Lorimer L-3 (1920-24) 1929 AV3 Dard AV3

754 but if he dies then his real self at home dies in a day or two. On this occasion there were present many Rū.is from all quarters."

In taking leave of the Rū.is it is, I presume, superfluous to lay stress on their similarity to the witches of the West. Almost every point that has been mentioned above can be duplicated from European records of witches.

The Daĭyāl.

●791 787 We now come to the Daĭyăl, the last of the characters whom I propose to treat of here. Daĭyāls are superhumanly endowed human beings, who at the present day chiefly exhibit their powers by furnishing answers to recondite questions. They supply on request information relating to what lies outside the scope of the ordinary senses of sight and hearing, and regarding what is going to come to pass in the future.

Their sources of knowledge are hidden, but there is nothing obscure about their procedure, for they exhibit their powers before all the world in broad daylight.

The public attend on the local polo ground, which corresponds to the village green. At one side sit the local band of drums and pipes and the Daĭyāl enters the circle formed by the spectators. There he primes himself by inhaling the smoke of burning juniper twigs which has some sort of intoxicating effect on him. After this he divides his time between stooping over and listening to the drums, dancing round the circle in various measures and posturing in the middle of it.

At certain points he may be asked questions by members of the general public, the answers to which he ostensibly obtains by listening to the drums or by watching the behaviour of some grains of corn thrown on the vibrating parchment of a drum. His answers are couched in language which is really I think unintelligible, but which someone eventually is always found to interpret.

2: Lorimer L-3 (1920-24) 1929 AV3 Dard AV3

An account of a Daĭyāl display has been given by Colonel A. Durand in his " Making of a Frontier ", so I need not elaborate the matter here. It will be enough if I contribute a few more general facts about Daĭyāls themselves. [113]

In Burushaski the equivalent of Daĭyāl is Bītan (plural bitaiyo). Daĭyāls may belong to any class of the population and to either sex. In fact they are nowadays, I believe, confined to a few special families. The chief, perhaps the only seat of Daĭyāls at the present day, is the small side valley of Bagrōt. 791 ● 177

I have seen exhibitions by two female Daĭyāls in Hunza, but to the best of my recollection they were said to belong to a family which originally hailed from Bagrōt. Similarly the performer at a specially arranged display at Gilgit Headquarters, in this case a man, had been brought from that place for the occasion.

There is a possibility, however, of fresh recruitment to the ranks of Daĭyāls. " A certain number of people," I was told, " become new Daĭyāls." On the other hand, one may withdraw temporarily or permanently from the faculty. 791

Daĭyāls possess, or at any rate have in the past possessed, more than the mere powers of second sight and prophecy. They are on more intimate terms with the supernatural world than ordinary folk. In talking of the Peris I have already quoted the statement that the Peris come to watch the Daĭyāls' performances and that they are the source of the Daĭyāls' knowledge ; and again that it is on their account that the Daĭyāl objects to the use of green clothing by the laity.

At an actual performance I was warned that they disliked anything red, and that they were liable to lose self-control and to attack anyone wearing or displaying it. We nervously took stock of our belongings, for the wild-eyed officiating Daĭyāl looked only semi-human and capable of anything whether in his mind or out of it. But why should red be objectionable, except as the complementary colour to green ? 791 822

2: Lorimer L-3 (1920-24) 1929 AV3 Dard AV3

791 In the past Daĭyāls have had the power to "bind" superhuman beings, as is shown by the well-known story of the Daĭyāl who bound the Gilgit Yaçhini. We also have the Daĭyāl of Herāmosh and his Peri wife which I have already recounted (v. p. 521), and the great Hunza Bītan, Shon Gukur, bound the cannibal Bīlas, Dadi, and her seven daughters.

Whether or not present day Daĭyāls can "bind", they can at any rate be "bound" at least with their own consent, when presumably they are inhibited from the use of their special talents. The procedure was described to me, not very lucidly, as follows: "When a Daĭyāl thinks of having himself bound, they twist an iron bracelet and place the Daĭyāl in the hands of a man. Then they breathe on the bracelet and bind the Daĭyāl (with it ?). If the bracelet gets lost then the man again becomes a Daĭyāl."

Once a Daĭyāl, by no means always a Daĭyāl, for apart from having himself bound the Daĭyāl may definitely abandon the career. My Pashū friend told me that his family on the father's side had originally been Daĭyāls, but that his grandfather, under priestly influence had given up being a Daĭyāl and had become a Pashū. My friend's father, however, had wished to continue as a Daĭyāl, but the opposition of the family had been too strong for him, and though he quarrelled with them on the head of it, he too became a Pashū.

178 I very much fear that Daĭyāls in these evil days, whether of religion or scepticism, are losing credit and esteem, and that this interesting college of soothsayers may presently die out and their valuable gifts be lost to the world.

3: Muhammad G-3 (ca. 1900) 1907 AV3 Dard AV3

V.

The Ceremony of Nagi Suchemi.

Nagi Suchemi is said to be a goddess who lived at Nangam in the Astore district, on a stone altar situated at the foot of the Nagishi hill. In former times cases of theft requiring settlement by oath were decided by the defendant's swearing on this sacred platform in the following manner. A man called Jungmi was specially appointed by the Rá to accompany the defendant to the place, receiving eight yards of cloth from the suspected person. A she-goat was killed on the altar and the meat cooked and eaten by all those present, in utensils which were always kept and are still kept there. The defendant had now to utter the following words loudly: "O Nagi Sochemi, inflict punishment upon me if I am guilty of the crime, but, if the plaintiff has laid a false claim upon me, be so kind as to inflict a calamity on him!" They then returned quietly to their homes in the darkness of night. None of the men who had attended this solemnity were allowed to appear in daylight before others of the village, and if by chance one of them showed himself to any villager, he had to repay whatever loss there arose from the theft, or from any untoward circumstance happening to the discoverer of the offending juryman at dawn of that day. For some days the case was left awaiting the decision of "Nagi Sochemi," and if in this period the suspected person suffered any kind of loss of property, of relatives, etc., he was adjudged guilty, and the total amount of loss by the theft was recovered from him and repaid to the plaintiff.

"Khuran" or "Majari."

In Chilas and in the adjacent valleys of Jalkot, Palas, Koli, Darel, Tangir, Gor, Harban, and Sazin, the disputes between two individuals or parties are settled by a peculiar ceremony called "Khuran" in Shinaki (Chilas, Darel, Tangir, Gor, Harban and Sazin), and "Majari" in Kohistan (Jalkot, Palas, and Koli). By this ceremony each of the opposite parties has to prove itself wealthier than the other, and whichever proves to be the poorer is forced to submit to the other. The ceremony is performed by each party giving food to all the villagers at a place called "Kai." Whichever party provides the larger feast gains the day, while the other must needs submit.

VI.

Danyals.

There are some men and women of these parts who are called Danyals. When they are worked up into a state of frenzy the giants and fairies instruct them concerning the future of the country, the chiefs, etc. Whenever a chief is inquisitive on the subject of his future, he sends for the Danyals as well as the local musicians. A bundle of green chili leaves is then brought, and some of these, with a little *ghi*, are put into a small fire and burnt in an enclosure set apart for the purpose. As soon as the smoke rises, one or two Danyals push their way towards the fire and begin to inhale the smoke, until

787 786 791

they lose their senses and commence to dance to the noise of the drums. They also eat some of the extremely bitter leaves of the "chili" (*Juniperus macrocarpa*) while dancing. The music then becomes fast and furious, and the onlookers cheer loudly. The Danyals glance from time to time towards the surrounding trees, among which the giants and fairies have taken up a position. After a short dance the Danyals place their hands on the shoulders of the drum-beaters and their ears on the drums, as if they are very attentively listening to what the drums says. In a short time they again commence dancing, and sing the prophecies they have been told by the drums. If there be anybody present wearing red clothes when a Danyal is dancing, the Danyal is much annoyed and rushes at him. No man clad in red[1] clothes is therefore allowed to be present. After an hour's dance the performance closes, and one or two strong men appear in the circle, and the Danyals climb upon their backs and are carried away out of the enclosure to a house, on which after a short rest they recover from their frenzy.

I once asked a Danyal woman of Gilgit how she had become a Danyal, and after long hesitation she related to me the following story: "When about seven years of age I used to go with my flocks to the distant pastures on the hills. Once I saw a fairy sitting on a Chili tree and eating its leaves. Her eyes were brilliant and large, with thick eyebrows, which were high above the eyes and almost joining the hair of her head. She came towards me and asked me to accompany her, saying that her house was built of gold, and that I should be well feasted there. Hearing this I lost my senses, and as I was then standing on the edge of a stream, I fell down into it and got a severe wound on the right thigh. Some of the shepherd boys who were also feeding their flocks at some distance saw me fall, and, hastily taking me out of the water, carried me to the village. My father then killed a goat in order to ascertain if I were really under the power of the fairies, and I drank all of its blood, but I was unconscious of what was going on around and remained in this state for about ten days without taking any food. During this time the number of giants and fairies which appeared to me increased to fourteen, of whom seven were Muhammadans and seven Hindus, each sect remaining apart. Their queen, who was Hindu, was clad like a fakir and had gathered her hair on the top of her head, upon which she wore a cap. They brought and showed me different kinds of food, but gave me nothing to eat. In these days they taught me to dance, and the following two incantations called "Gano" and "Wiyo":—

Gano.

Ganam, Ganam, Trakhan ai Zooli ganam; Zooli ai Hazooli ganam; Yun ai ganooli ganam; Pa ai paroni ganam; Ding dolok ganam; Tip philil ganam; Jir janwar ganam; Ashpo ai choro ganam; Jakun ai goko ganam; Ajeh ai oran ganam; Ayi ai chhal ganam; Turmuk ai shoolo ganam; Bun ai shara ganam; Neeli jut ganam; Shiril ai shani ganam; Dewak ai chhai ganam; Chai chatri joo ganam; Musha birga ai joo ganam; Dewak ai pun ganam; Aga ai tare ganam; Birdi ai bathai ganam; Sat khap

[1] When I first saw a dance by a Danyal woman in 1893 at Gilgit, a man with a red umbrella came into the circle. This enraged the dancer, although she herself was wearing red clothes.

3: Muhammad G-3 (ca. 1900) 1907 AV3 Dard AV3

paryan ganam; Hul ai sar ganam; Sar ai nistai ganam; Yujan ai batheli ganam; Batheli ai Chhai ganam; Sum ai sumading ganam; Joo janwar ganam; Soni sarplok ganam; Sat khap barai ganam; Drang ai dam ganam; Khirte das ganam; Hunte rong ganam; Chin chili ganam; Neeli nistai ganam; Jun ai ayin ganam; Taru ai shur ganam; Trakhan ai Yudaini ganam; Yudaini ai Hazooli ganam; Gao ai bashoshi ganam. 787 786 791

Wiyo.

Muti, Muti, Trakhan ai Zooli muti; Zooli ai Hazooli muti, &c. &c., continues in the same way up to end of Gano.

Translation—

Gano.

I will bind, I will bind, I will bind Zooli (a fairy) of Trakhan (a chief of Gilgit). I will bind Hazooli the daughter of Zooli. I will bind Ganooli the daughter of Yun (a fairy, also the moon). I will bind the sole of the foot. I will bind Ding (a giant) of the lower strata of the earth. I will bind all the insects. I will bind giants and wild animals. I will bind the colt of a mare. I will bind the offspring of an ass. I will bind the lamb of a sheep. I will bind the kid of a goat. I will bind the bullet of a gun. I will bind the markhors of the jungle. I will bind the green pastures. I will bind the fields of fairies. I will bind the key of demons. I will bind the pregnant women. I will bind men for fighting. I will bind the way of giants. I will bind the stars of the sky. I will bind the pieces of the earth. I will bind seven hundred fairies. I will bind the springs of ocean. I will bind the outlets of springs. I will bind Bathelo (a fort of fairies) on Yujan (Nanga Parbat or Dyamur Mountain, situated on the west of Astore). I will bind the key of Bathela. I will bind Sumading (a giant) of earth. I will bind all creation. I will bind Soni (a giant) of the upper strata of the earth. I will bind seven hundred daughters of fairies. I will bind the booming of drums. I will bind the lower plains. I will bind the upper pastures. I will bind all the *chili* trees. I will bind the green banners of the fairies. I will bind the mouth of serpents. I will bind the voice of the flute. I will bind Yudaini (the fairy drum which is said to be beaten by fairies on Khama, a mountain near Bulchi, a village in the Bagrot Valley) of Trakhan. I will bind Hazooli (a fairy) of Yudaini. I will bind the calf of the cow.

Wiyo.

I will release, I will release, I will release Zooli of Trakhan. I will release Hazooli, the daughter of Zooli.

&c. &c. &c.

If it is wished to restrain any person, phenomenon, thought, wish or desire, &c., from their natural course of action, the "Gano" is read by the Danyals on a small stone, which is then thrown towards the person or thing interested. By reciting the "Wiyo" in the same way on another stone, the person or thing is again rendered active. [789]

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4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

D 778 821 storm of hail and wind arise. Mahmood having caused this to be done, the effects became visible; for, instantly the sky lowered, and thunder, lightning, wind, and hail succeeded, turning the day into night, and spreading horror and destruction around."

D 787 791 Divination is still practised, in spite of the conversion of the country to Mahommedanism. The Dainyals, or diviners, who are of both sexes but are more frequently women, are supposed to receive the gift of second sight by the shadow of a Barai, or fairy, having fallen on them in sleep. Dr. Leitner B 787 791 speaks of the gift as being supposed to be hereditary, but this is not the case, though the daughters of Dainyals often become Dainyals also. Dainyals are said to be only found among the shepherd population, and it is easy to understand how a solitary life among the wild crags of the Hindoo Koosh should encourage a belief in the power of intercourse with the unseen world. Quite young people become Dainyals, and the spirit of prophecy is supposed to remain with them for life.

The first intimation of the gift to the friends of the recipient is conveyed by their finding him or her in a deep trance. The requisite music is brought, flageolets being substituted for the ordinary clarionets, and softly modulated airs are played close to the ear of the entranced. Gradually he moves and begins to show signs of life, on which a goat is brought and decapitated, and the bleeding neck presented to the Dainyal novice. This is the test of a true Dainyal. If the gift of divination has really come to him, he seizes the bleeding neck, and sucks the blood. Some find this too much for them, and refusing to suck the blood are looked on afterwards as only feebly gifted with the spirit of prophecy. The idea of imposture never seems to be entertained by these simple-minded people. The recognised Dainyals are consulted on all special occasions, such as the yearly festivals in summer, or the declaration of war with a neighbouring state. The spirit of divination is supposed to lie dormant in winter, and to be strong in proportion to the heat of the weather.

On the first occasion of my witnessing an incantation, two Dainyals were brought from a considerable distance to prophesy at the Ganoni festival in June. They were both women, one of about twenty-five and the other about forty years of age, who showed by their wild and haggard looks the strain of the often-practised ceremony on their faculties. A circle

~~121~~ 4 Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AVII Afghanistan AVII~~
AV3 Dard AV3
Burushe AV7

being formed round which the spectators seated themselves, a bunch of cedar twigs was placed on a flat stone and set on fire, and while two or three men vigorously blew up the flame, the Dainyal with a cloth over her head inhaled the thick pungent smoke which curled round her head, while the music played softly. In a few minutes she became violently agitated, her hands were convulsively clasped over her head, and her whole body was shaken with uncontrollable muscular motion, till, dashing the burning branches aside, she fell prostrate at the feet of the musicians, grasping the drum with her hands, and violently throwing her head backwards and forwards in a way that threatened dislocation. At length, overcome by the violence of her exertions, she fell apparently senseless on the ground. The spectators shouted long and loud at this triumphant manifestation of the fairy's presence, and the music played its loudest. Then the second Dainyal entered the circle, and in a few minutes was also lying motionless. The music now changed to a harsh cadence, and soon one, and then the other, rose and staggered round the circle in a rude attempt at stepping in time to the music. With their long hair floating loose, half-closed eyes, drunk with the fumes of the cedar smoke, and occasionally coming into collision, they formed a most weird and somewhat painful spectacle, while the shouts of the spectators rose and fell at each uncouth gesture, varied by shrill whistles that would have done credit to the gallery of a popular London theatre. The violent exertion soon produced fatigue, while the worst effects of the cedar smoke seemed to disappear and the prophesying began. While the music played softly, the two witches reduced their movements to a sort of aimless walk round the circle, with fixed and vacant gaze, occasionally one would stop and place her head close to the flutes or the drum as if listening to a language that others could not hear, and then again resume the weary round. Sometimes, during one of these pauses, one would, after listening, raise a shrill chaunt which was attentively listened to by the musicians, and after being repeated once or twice was caught up by them and loudly chaunted to the audience, while murmurs of surprise or congratulation ran round the circle.

This, varied with intervals of leaping and dancing which seemed to excite both themselves and the spectators to the highest pitch, lasted for about an hour, when the palpable exhaustion of the Dainyals made it necessary to close the meeting. A man going into the circle gave a back, as at

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leapfrog, and one of the women, taking a flying leap on to his shoulders, was carried out of the ring, the second Dainyal following in like fashion on another back being offered, and the meeting broke up. No attempt is made to direct the prophecy to any topic by hint or question, and the Dainyal is always free to give, as the communication of the fairy, whatever comes into her head. Considerable freedom of speech is gained in this way, and an unpopular ruler often gets a broad hint given him. Dainyals only exist now in Gilgit, Hunza, and Nager, the stricter Mahommedanism of the neighbouring valleys having disestablished them. Circumstances point to this mode of divination being of Shin introduction, the majority of Dainyals being of that caste. Stronger evidence is afforded by the fact that it is incumbent upon a Dainyal, of whatever caste, to refrain from cow's milk, like the most orthodox Shin.

During the ceremony the witches attempt, occasionally, to rush out of the circle, but are thrust back by the spectators, the idea being that they are forced to prophecy against their will. Occasionally, too, they affect to become excited by the sight of certain persons, bright colours, dogs, &c., and rush at and try to tear them, but are repelled by the spectators, and so are forced to content themselves with hurling stones at the object of aversion.

According to Elphinstone's account of the Siah Posh Kaffirs, something of the same kind exists among them. He says: "They have also persons who can procure an inspiration of some superior being, by holding their heads over the smoke of a sacrifice; but these are held in no particular reverence." Moorcroft mentions mountain witches at Nadaun who were called *Dain*, and a form of divination called *Dewalla* is still practised in some parts of the Punjab.

D 674 681

Serious crimes, such as murder, are rare. In Wakhan murder is punished by a fine of six horses, six guns, and thirty woollen robes; should the murderer be unable to pay the fine, he is forced to give up a son or daughter as a slave to the family of the murdered person. Theft is punished by a fourfold restoration of the stolen property, and the thief is bound to a tree and beaten. Grave disturbances, in which deadly weapons are used, are punished by heavy fines, and an offender is not pardoned till he succeeds in bringing a live hare to the Meer, which at certain seasons is a matter of difficulty.

D 674

Though bloodshed is rare among the Dards as compared with the Afghans, brutal murders are sometimes committed

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Dard AV3

without its note, no warlike expedition could be expected to succeed which started without the fairy approval. But if I never heard the fairy drum, I have seen what few will ever have the chance of seeing again, the Dainyal, the diviner or soothsayer inspired by the fairies. Dainyals are usually women, but men sometimes become possessed, and the seers are seemingly of all ages. The one I saw was a buxom married village girl of about twenty, held in great estimation in the village and district on account of her supernatural powers, and ruling her household with a rod of iron.

I had ridden up the Bagrot valley, down which a stream from the southern glaciers of Rakapushi reaches the Gilgit river, in order to see what could be done to improve the water channels, which were carried along very difficult cliffs, and which the people only kept in even partial repair with the greatest labour. It was a melancholy ride. The valley had been raided years ago by the Yasin ruler, and some two-thirds of the population carried off into slavery or killed, and the traces of the tragedy were recognisable on all sides. At the mouth of the Bagrot valley lay hundreds of acres of land gone out of cultivation, the terraced fields and the raised irrigation channels still intact, their lichen-grown and sunburnt stones showing that water had not run over them for decades. Further up the valley half, and sometimes two-thirds, of the village land lay in the same state, the dead and gone vineyards easily recognisable by the small stone vats, which had once run full of foaming must; the flat stones above them, on which the grapes had been trodden out, and the little stone runnels, through which the juice had poured, were still in their places.

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000 torrent, are the natural first step in worship and in the supernatural. They are born of the solitary watching of the wandering flock in the day-time, of the sheepfold at night. The supernatural is ever with the lonely shepherd; the avalanche sweeping down the mountain side is the protest of the solitary god against any attempt to scale the approaches to his throne; the mountain sickness which seizes the wayfarer on some pass is the vengeance of the disturbed fairies; the shriek of the wind behind the veil of mist attests their presence; the snow flag streaming from some great peak is a sign of the god's abode; the voice of the gods speaks in the moaning forest and the rushing waterfall. The fairy and the god seem at first to trench on each other's domains, and the distinct separation between them is a thing of later growth. At least so it seemed to me was the case in the Hindu-Kush.

787 The last day before I left the valley I saw the
791 Dainyal. We were taken to the village dancing ground, round which sat all the men of the village, and were accommodated in the verandah of the guest house, from which an excellent view of the scene was obtained. A few old women and children were seated in an outer ring, but all the young women, dressed in their smartest clothes, were collected in the surrounding houses. The inevitable band formed part of the inmost ring. After a short interval of waiting the Dainyal stepped into the circle and sat down. She was at once covered with a woollen choga, and a platter of burning cedar-twigs was placed before her, over which she bent, inhaling the smoke. After a few minutes she

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rose, and stood facing the orchestra, leaning her hand upon a drum. Bare-headed, her long black hair streaming down her back, she stood swaying slowly backwards and forwards to the accompaniment of low music from the band; gradually the band played faster and faster, the swaying quickened, until it seemed as if her neck must be dislocated by the violence of her movements, and her locks stretched to their full extent threshed in a heavy mass, at one moment over her face and bosom, the next down her back to her waist. She looked horrible, a very Mænad. Suddenly she ceased, and stood as if dazed. Then with slow and faltering step she began to wander round the circle, keeping the spectators on her right hand. The pace gradually increased until she danced round, the band keeping time to her every motion. The fairy hill lay to the north-west of the place where we were sitting, and her eyes were constantly fixed in its direction as she came round the circle and faced towards it.

I watched her very carefully, and for some time failed to detect anything but an expression of entire abstraction from her surroundings, till, in one of her circlings, she suddenly shot a glance at us, which showed that, however much the fairies possessed her, she was still fully conscious of our presence. At last, after many weary wanderings, she halted by the band, the music of which dropped to the faintest murmur, and listened first to a pipe then to a drum for the fairy voice, to be heard only by her. There was a slight pause, and then she sang a couplet, which was taken up and repeated by the village elders, who

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787 formed a sort of chorus and sat by the band. The
791 onlookers listened with rapt attention, and it was easy to see that they were full of implicit faith in the genuineness of the "possession," and in the importance of the spoken words. Again and again the Dainyal spoke, her words being caught up and repeated by the chorus of old men. Then she wandered round the circle again, till she could think of something more to say.

We were not deprived of interludes, comic and otherwise. There was a man hanging some dyed cloths to dry in the bare branches of a walnut tree, beyond which rose the fairy hill. The man's presence, when he climbed high among the branches, infuriated the Dainyal, and she tried hard to break the ring of spectators, and to get at him. She was good-humouredly but firmly stopped, but the man was ordered out of his tree at once, and she solaced herself by throwing stones at him. I never quite made out what would have happened had she broken out of the ring while under the influence of inspiration, but it was evidently something bad, either for her or for the community at large, possibly for both.

At one period the Dainyal got tired, and sat down on a drum waiting for water to be brought. During this interval a baby began to cry, and was ordered to be removed by a peremptory glance and gesture, which were instantly obeyed. A dog came gently wandering by to investigate what was going on, and retired much injured in his feelings before a shower of stones, thrown by his familiar friends in the crowd, for dogs and babies were particularly distasteful to the Dainyal during her periods of active inspiration.

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Durd A43

When the water arrived, an old man pronounced a long incantation over the gourd containing it, then handed it to the woman, who, after drinking a little of it, began again her weary wanderings, sprinkling the water as she went round the circle. And so it went on, the Dainyal occasionally chewing a piece of the sacred cedar as an additional help, until all the subjects she had learnt up, or thought of interest to her hearers, were exhausted. She prophesied various things in our favour, and gave vent to one or two shrewd sayings about local abuses, which seemed to please her audience immensely. No doubt in the old days public opinion could often only reach a chief in this manner, and full advantage seems to have been occasionally taken of the opportunity, which the performance of the Dainyal afforded, of enlightening the mind of an unpopular ruler. Finally, when it was evident to all that the source of inspiration had for the day run dry, a couple of men came into the ring, and one of them stooping down and giving the Dainyal a back, she took a run and flying leap on to it, and was so gracefully carried out of the circle. A few minutes' rest in a neighbouring house, and a sprinkling of water, enabled her to come to. The whole performance was extremely curious, and there is no doubt whatever that the onlookers firmly believed in the woman being inspired.

The ceremony of initiation is unpleasant; we fortunately were spared seeing it. If any one, man or woman, claims to be inspired by the fairies, they have to go through the rites described above with a recognised Dainyal. At the end of the performance a goat is brought in and decapitated, and the novice

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D has to seize the neck and drink the spouting blood.
791 If successful in this, he or she is at once recognised as inspired. If the ordeal is too much, then a contemptuous pity is extended to the aspirant, as to one who has been on the verge of attaining to great things, but has failed owing to personal defect. Those who cannot fulfil the conditions are said invariably in the end to go mad.

D The Bagrot valley, where we saw the Dainyal,
135 was further of interest in that about the best gold
314 of the country is found in its bed, and in the Gilgit river below where the Bagrot stream runs in. Every year, after the summer floods are over, the deposits in back waters and sand-banks are carefully washed, and a fair amount of gold, considering the rough methods and unskilled labour of the prospectors, is collected.

K When we first went to Gilgit pure gold was selling
661 there at two-thirds its price in Srinagar, and the Kashmir officials and soldiers were doing a profitable trade. The amount collected by the officials each year must have been considerable. Every petitioner or visitor, as a rule, presented his little nazar—the complimentary offering from an inferior to a superior
K always given in the East—in gold dust. The gold
436 was poured into the blossom of a dried flower like a lupin, of a very tough texture. The mouth of the flower was screwed together, and the tiny packet was popped into another flower, and again screwed
K up, each packet containing a recognised weight. I
661 have had double handfuls of the little packets poured on to my table by an anxious royal petitioner, an unsatisfactory arrangement so far as I was concerned, for my nazars were returned to the donors. A